

**Ernst Röhm:**

**The National Socialist  
Revolution and the S.A.**

**Die nationalsozialistische  
Revolution und die S. A.**



**Translated from the Third Reich Original  
English/German – Deutsch/Englisch**

**Reich Minister Chief of Staff Ernst Röhm:**

# **The National Socialist Revolution and the S.A.**

**Reichsminister Stabschef Ernst Röhm:**

# **Die nationalsozialistische Revolution und die S. A.**

**Translated from the Third Reich Original**

**English/German – Deutsch/Englisch**

Copyright 2003 Preuss  
Printed in USA

# ***University and Foreign Lands***

Monthly Publication for Cultural Politics and Inter-State Intellectual Cooperation

Publisher: Dr. of Law and Dr. of Philosophy Adolf Morsbach  
Editor: Dr. Herbert Scuria

Issue 6 – June 1934 – 12<sup>th</sup> Year of Publication

**Reich Minister Chief of Staff Ernst Röhm:**

## **The National Socialist Revolution and the S.A.**

1.

The new Germany under the swastika does not *only* have friends in the world.

Much has been said, much as been written about it.

But for far too long Germany and the other peoples have talked past each other, because they simply do not understand each other.

The German revolution in its meaning and essence has generally not been comprehended abroad. Again and again it is overlooked that this is not about a change of power in the usual sense, rather the breakthrough of a new world-view.

The world is used to revolutions where power changes hands from one political line to another. Despite all apparent passion, nothing changes fundamentally. For with all these revolutions share the same ideological plain, namely that of democracy.

The democratic principle of state leadership according to the will of the majority played no role at all in the German revolution. Certainly.



the rise to power of National Socialist came – completely democratic – with the will of the overwhelming majority of the folk. But this – after the last election – total majority of the German folk unconditionally rejects the premises of democracy and of parliamentarianism and affirms authoritarian leadership.

In Germany's fundamental disavowal of democratic principles lies the final reason for the complete lack of comprehension for everything that has recently happened in Europe's heart.

The revolution of National Socialism means the inner break with the thinking of the great French Revolution of 1789.

It raised the principles of person, of the individual, to an untouchable dignity of holiness, preached as its ramification the equality of rights and the equal value of opinions, and recognized only one superior principle and honored it with divine honors: reason!

The fanfare "equality, freedom, brotherhood" soared triumphant like an eagle over the civilized peoples and conquered the world.

Politically it found its expression on the form of western democracy. According to physics principle of inertia, the teaching of the endurance of the masses, today wide portions of humanity still hold to it.

This rationalistic kind of thinking, which evaluates an intention solely according to the visible success and the correctness of an opinion purely mechanically according to the number of its adherents – this thinking that only figures with measurable and countable values – was opposed by a new form of idealism in National Socialism, which the world of democracy could not figure out, because it is naturally and innerly alien to it.

Many and precisely the highest values that are holy and inalienable to democracy and its kind of thinkings were set aside in the new Germany: the uncritical primacy of intellect, the incontestable, innate value of the person, the unconditional equality of everything with a human countenance, the worship of the will of the majority, of success and of numbers.



In their place National Socialism put forces that are not measurable with numbers and weights, that one cannot grasp with pure calculations and reason – the forces of the soul and of the blood.

The world of ideas of National Socialism and of democracy lay two different concept plains. It is impossible to understand and correctly evaluate the manifestations of National Socialism, if one does make the effort to try to comprehend the essential foundations of National Socialism. Whoever believes to come close to National Socialism while passing by, will never reach a correct understanding of what is today happening in Germany. Whoever crosses a lake a rowboat only sees the waves caused by his own movement. But whoever pulls in the oars so that the boat stands still, distinctly sees under the water surface the diverse life of the depths.

## 2.

The S.A. is the combative bearer of the will and ideas of the German revolution.

Essence and task of the S.A. are only understandable on the basis of the essence and aim of the National Socialist revolution.

We understand the concept "revolution" in the widest and deepest sense.

Revolution is not the course of more or less unruly events. Rather revolution is the complete break of a time and its people, it is the transformation in the thinking of peoples – it is the emergence of a new world-view. *Such* revolutions, *world-view* revolutions, are always right. For they overcome an old and tired principle that has become rotten through the moral right and the dynamic force of a new desire. Possession only is never a right, even less a prerogative, if it does not possess its own strength to assert itself.

So a world-view also losses the claim to universality, if it does not have the living, inner strength to magnetically hold its believers to its course and thereby to prevent the breakthrough of a new thinking and desire.

That does not mean that the principles of an overcome or at least pushed back world-view are hence false. They *were* certainly right at the time that they triumphed. They *can* continue to exist under and next to the manifestations of a new time and its world of ideas. But they lose their prerogative to impose their stamp on this time.

The life of humanity is like the life of an individual person. Like the person is born, grows, reaches the zenith of his ability and is then surpassed in performance by maturing sons and grandchildren and pushed from the right of leadership, so does the development of humanity not remain at the same level – neither materially nor intellectually -, rather it reaches new material accomplishments and intellectual realizations. When they fundamentally change the perception of life forms and life tasks, we call them a revolution.

Among the great world revolutions we include the introduction of Christianity, the great folk wandering, the invention of book printing and gun powder, the discovery of America, the reformation and the French Revolution of 1789 with its children who ruled the world for one hundred and fifty years: liberalism, capitalism, Marxism, democracy.

Among them you find great deeds of intellect and explosions of the will, primeval acts of nature and revolutions with everything that according to common concepts belong to them: barricades, rolling heads and rivers of blood.

You will ask me: Since when is the discovery of America a revolution? And I reply to you" The events as such play a subordinate roll for a real, genuine revolution, regardless how unprecedented their effect locally at the time. Decisive is the changed thinking of humanity that follows them. And we now find ourselves in such a decisive period of development in world history. By my feeling the revolutionary process now underway began on August 1, 1914. For a completely different humanity entered the World War than was released from this world-spanning force field of great death four and five and six years later. Into the war went the man of the era of liberal, bourgeois civilization and highly capitalistic, economic prosperity. Out of this blast furnace of humanity emerged the man who had learned under the wag-



ing cyclops hammering of the material battle to despise everything that did not withstand this pitiless, merciless test of character. In the mass graves of the World War, which directly and indirectly killed twelve million people, the world of ideas of the great French Revolution were also buried. On the blazing battlefields of France and Flanders lies the key to the inner, spiritual comprehension of the new development of humanity in our day. Out there, where millions of men died, in the constant face of death, everything paled that was only external appearance; everything sank that was insignificant. Only the genuine, true, manly kept its value, which required no helping or supporting, rather is itself a stone pillar. Pitiless and without mercy is combat's screen of character.

### 3.

The countenance of the world began to form itself anew from the spirit of eternal soldierdom. That has nothing to do with war and war cries. For soldierdom does not all circumstances means: uniform and bearing weapons. One can order a person to bear weapons and to fight, but not to be a soldier. Quite the opposite, people can belong to the army their whole life or yield a dagger or even participate in a war without thus having been or having become soldiers. And there are others, who never held a gun in their hand, who have never worn a uniform and never marched in ranks – and they are nonetheless soldiers. For weapon, uniform, war – all of those things one thinks about the word soldier, are externalities, but they do not constitute its essence.

The peasant on poor soil, the seaman on tilting ship planks, the miner beneath the earth and the machinist at the work bench – the doctor at the sick bed, the lawyer in front of the court, the poet and researcher and discoverer, even the monk in the cloak of the religious order – all of them can be soldiers, if... Yes, if the place that fate has put them, is in the right spirit not just an occupation, rather a calling, not just a workplace and field of endeavor, rather viewed as a task and obligation, if they are ready to devote their entire being to it. Soldierdom is in any case voluntarism, which does not obey a dead order, rather the law of blood and the command of the heart. Soldierdom is affirmation. is faith, is devotion, is the willingness to die for the cause one serves. One does not die consciously and voluntarily for a trifle. Soldierdom



is spiritual bearing and stand – it is idealism. That is soldierdom – regardless what we call its battlefields. Decisive alone of the fact, *that* we are fighters.

Only from this spirit, which does not ask about your reachable use or the visible success, rather for the deeper senses of its fighting, have several peoples again recovered from the deep wounds that war has inflicted on them. As the most prominent examples I mention the new Turkey of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the new Hungary of Horthy, the new Italy of Benito Mussolini and the new Germany of Adolf Hitler. None of these peoples has had its folkish rebirth simply fall into its lap as a cheap gift of fate, as a happy coincidence. All of them have had to fight for their new development, hard and bitter, using their last material and spiritual reserves of strength.

#### 4.

The world does not understand our desire, because it views and judges things from a totally different plain of concepts. Often enough one does not make the effort to see the high, idealistic aim of National Socialism, rather starts one-sidedly and stubbornly at whatever side effect of the political transformation and considers that the German revolution. For such ill-wishing people the concentration camps, the elimination of subversive publications and of un-German art, the return of Jews to their population-based proportionate standing in the academic professions, the purge of the German press from hateful opponents and the abolition of a few dozen superfluous political parties and special interest groups – *that* is National Socialism itself.

All of these things have occurred. A few thousand Jewish intellectuals along with their families have lost their livelihood. It's gotten too hot in Germany for a few tens of thousands of inferior subjects whose conscience could not let them sleep; they now live outside of Germany, are to burden to charity there and make themselves unpopular through their agitation and defamatory publications against the new Germany which cause problems for their host countries. A few dozen terrorists who had been captured by the new state have been shot during the escape from concentration camps.



But what does all of that say?!

They are completely natural for revolutions! Quite the opposite, it is amazing how mildly the National Socialist revolution in Germany has treated its enemies and haters. Revolutions have the tendency to pave the wave for their new desires with other means, even ruthless violence.

The French Revolution mounted the barricades under the sign of humanity and humanitarianism. But it nonetheless sent thousands and thousands of harmless people who were personally not guilty for the wrongs against which this new desire raged to the scaffolds. They literally waded in blood so that the civilized peoples would initially in horror turn away from the atrocities perpetrated against innocent people in the name of human rights. But the world of ideas of the French Revolution soon triumphed throughout the world.

Christianity, the divine teaching of love – with what means was it given to the peoples?! On a single day in Germany at Verden many thousands of nobles of pagan Lower Saxony put their heads on the execution block, because they did not want to be baptized. When after the discovery of America an entire, huge continent became a new field of activity, entire tribes were exterminated to the last child, so that today only works of architecture still bear witness to an advanced, pre-Christian culture, indeed provide any evidence that these peoples once existed.

One might interject that this form of spread of Christianity did not lie in the sense of the church, that it was only a cloak for the nobles' thirst for power and the greed of privateers lacking any conscience. Certainly. But it is also certain that as the outward symbol the cross of Golgatha towered over the rivers of blood that were shed there!

Furthermore, violence is also hardly lacking from the direct service of the church. In America's heart the mightiest and most prestigious order of the Roman Catholic church erected a pure religious state. It ended when the torture of the cruelly suppressed natives turned against the tormenters, who had the words of God on their lips and the sword of violence in their right hand; destroyed altars and killed priests bore witness to the failure of land acquisition under the sign of

the crucifix.

The inquisition...the counter-reformation...How many fires blazed? How many swords came down on bare necks? How much crying and rattling and moaning rose to the heavens under the terrible martyring during the painful interrogation?! How many tens of thousands, driven off because of their faith, lost home and hearth and livelihood?!

Since the dawn of time until recent days there are countless such examples. They are not intended as a reproach. They should just illustrate one point: blood and violence are characteristics of revolution, whenever and wherever they have occurred and whatever world-view they may have brought to power!

Compared to the violent deeds and atrocities, compared to the sea of blood that other world-views have required in order to succeed, National Socialism has in the history of the revolutions of the world taken control of Germany with unprecedented greatness and discipline.

## 5.

In the course of the last year much more has taken place in Germany than merely the assumption of government power by National Socialism.

Indeed, this means the final achievement of a battle goal pursued with passionate devotion and unerring will; it means a victory. Nonetheless, the achievement of power in the state was only part of our struggle. It created the prerequisites so that now - without the inner and outer restraints that for us are inseparable from the concept of the sunken Weimar November system - National Socialism can become reality.

The rise to power of National Socialism was initially just the acquisition of a firm position, from which the mountain of debris of decades and centuries of false thought that diverted us Germans must be cleared away, in order to make room for the new, the folk-becoming of the Germans out of the spirit of National Socialism. The German revolution at first just smashed the Weimar state as a manifestation. It



replaced the black-red November system with the National Socialist regiment as bearer of state authority. They is a purely power-political process, which for us only has special significance in that the victorious side during this change in power placed the swastika overt the ramparts of the state. It only has the external symbol in common with National Socialism.

For as a world-view – and its complete success is the first and last goal of our years-long struggle – National Socialism has a fundamental connection with neither form of government nor the bearer of the state. There have been National Socialists, real, enthusiastic, ready to die bearers and fighters for the National Socialist idea back when the affirmation of the teaching of Adolf Hitler resulted in boycott and harassment, persecution and prison, terror and assassination. And on the other hand, Germany is not already National Socialist just because it is governed National Socialist. Government measures can only effectively create the prerequisites for the National Socialist world-view. It cannot forcibly enforce them, because ideas cannot be commanded, because everyone who wants to be a National Socialist from his heart must have personally experienced and suffered this complete inner transformation of the new German man.

## 6.

I have already said: The S.A. is the fighting bearer of the will and idea of the National Socialist revolution. And: National Socialist is not just a political line, rather above all a world-view, which had to use a political struggle for power in order to be able to become effective as a world-view. Revolution is the not course of events in the struggle for government power and its achievement, rather the reform of the thinking of the Germans in the sense of a new world-view. The National Socialist revolution is hence, if one correctly understand it, a world-view educational process that already started long years ago and will only be completed when the last German folk comrade has become a bearer and affirmer of National Socialism in thought and action.

When Adolf Hitler began his struggle for Germany, he was a soldier. Full of burning shame he saw how, in the hour of greatest national distress, Marxism put its internationally-oriented party interests over the



well-being of the fatherland and, through instigation of a revolt by cowards, deserters and disgruntled materialists, during the fighting broke the sword of the front armies that fought far from the borders of the homeland, undefeated by the enemy. The passionate will arose in the unknown corporal of the world war to pay back this shame and give back to the German folk its honor, which it had lost through the treason of the November criminals.

The goal of his effort was Germany's resurrection out of the ruins of the political, economic and moral collapse. A useful means seemed to him to be to take the community of German people in the fatherland's service, as it had manifested itself in the trenches, and save in into the time after the war and make it the spiritual foundation of the German regeneration. His path required the annihilation of the forces responsible for the collapse, primarily Marxism. The blending of socialist desire with the concept of nation and its embrace in the heart of the workers, who felt themselves exploited by capitalism and expelled through class prejudice by the upper classes from the father's house of the nation. This synthesis of nationalism and socialism became an intellectual danger for both parties standing on the basis of class struggle and proletarian international and made them from the first moment on the natural mortal enemy of the developing National Socialist movement.

Governing social democracy fully dominated the streets since the 1918 November revolt. And with it all of Germany's political life. It prevented any enlightenment of the folk against its will with brute force. If Adolf Hitler did not want to give up taking his teaching into the folk, he had to oppose the violence of the others with the fist. Hence he formed for the protection of his meetings a small order troop from supporters of his young movement.

The first large-scale attempt by the Marxists to club down the new teaching under all circumstances was a meeting hall battle in the Munich Hofbräuhaus on November 4, 1921. Forty-six National Socialist "orderlies" held the field against 800 Marxists. The unprecedented attack spirit of this small meeting hall troop, which had remained victorious against a twenty-to-one superior force, was rewarded by Adolf Hitler with the future name of honor "Storm Troop" – S.A.



If here National Socialism once and for all achieved its demand to conduct its own meetings, then in October 1922 it attacked Marxism in its own domain. During a "German Day" in red Coburg, in a violent collision against a much superior force, the S.A. won the right to the street. The growth of the movement and hence the S.A. and the necessity of unified deployment for the purposes of meeting hall protection and for propaganda made a closer control of the men necessary, men who were ready to serve the idea of their Führer with hand, with body and life.

In order to hold together tens and hundreds of thousands, it takes more than just good will. Revolutionary forces degenerate into unruly bands, if it is not possible to firmly and uniformly organize and control them. Adolf Hitler began his work as a soldier. Struggle, more struggle and still more struggle were his path. So it was just obvious, that he would subordinate his helpers for the struggle to military principles. In order to secure the uniform execution of the political line of his will, he built the brown army of the German revolution on the two supporting pillars of leadership authority and discipline. For the S.A. man voluntary is only the decision to join the storm troops of the German regeneration. In the moment he puts on the brownshirt, he unconditionally subordinates himself to the law of the S.A. It says: Obedience to the death to the supreme S.A.-leader, Adolf Hitler! Property and blood, body and life, everything for Germany!

Unlike many paramilitary organizations, Adolf Hitler rejects the self-deception that by playing soldier in secret organizations his movement and Germany will gain anything. From the beginning Adolf Hitler fought not for small goals, not for a majority in the parliaments, for co-determination. Rather his struggle – already on the day when just seven men with no name, no following, no press and no money thought of Germany's – was for the *whole* power, for the *whole* folk. His weapon in this struggle was the S.A.

7.

Not a bunch of conspirators, rather an army of believers and affirmers, of agitators and soldiers did he need for the gigantic struggle for the soul of the German folk. In accordance with these tasks Adolf Hitler



awoke a new type of fighter, the soldier of a political idea. With intentional sacrifice of borrowing from the tradition-rich old externalities Adolf Hitler gave his "political soldier" in the red flag with the swastika a new symbol of German future and in the brownshirt his garment of struggle, honor and death. Through the unprecedented shining power of its color the brownshirt consciously elevates its wearer out of the mass. In this fact lies its purpose: to make the S.A. man recognizable to friend and foe as an affirmer of the National Socialist worldview.

As long as the movement was small and the brownshirt rare, it took a real man to wear it against a thousand-time superior political opponent. As the brownshirt became more common on the streets, the mere fact of its appearance pushed back more and more the enemies, who had recognized that the men who marched in it were not to be fooled with. What was originally just an organizational measure for orderly leadership of larger masses – disciplined formation – and what was at first just clothing and symbol in struggle – the brownshirt – both became together the most effective propaganda means of the movement.

The S.A. grew with its tasks. Originally just protector of the spoken word in our own meetings, it gradually, ever more carried in a broad front the National Socialist idea into the street and into the worker districts. Marched, pasted posters, distributed leaflets and newspapers, made propaganda by word of word. Where no National Socialist speaker penetrated – the S.A. went there. It forced recognition and attention to National Socialism by again and again pursuing the opponent into his own camp, by drumming throughout the land, by carrying its glowing red swastika flags through cities and villages.

But still more than in its characteristic as carrier of propaganda, the S. A. had an effect in itself.

## 8.

Two great, iron laws stand in the 25 points of the National Socialist program, if one follows it back to its most core: overcoming selfishness with the common good and the realization of the true folk community. Folk community and selfless idealism, ever ready willingness



to act and to sacrifice, National Socialist and social desire – they have first taken visible form on the brown battalions of the German revolution. The S.A.'s national socialism of the deed was more convincing than a thousand clever and pretty words to the agitated worker and the distrustful peasant. Here fol community is no empty phrase, there the worker really stands next to the prince, the peasant next to the official, the student next to the craftsman. All of them in rank and column, all in the same simple brown garment of ho or, all with the same right and the same duty from their free will, all united by the goal: National Socialist Germany.

So went the march of the S.A. through thirteen years of German decline, through harassment, bans, struggle, persecution and terror. Nothing could hinder or stop its hard and hence even prouder path. Open resistance from Marxism pushed out of their domain - it was broken. Treacherous ambush and cowardly assassination – for one who fell, hundreds and thousands stood up and hoisted the banner of the German revolution, which had fallen from his dying hands. With the striking the S.A. paved for the National Socialist idea the path into the future, to victory. With its march it had swept along the doubting and the wavering into the mighty uprising of the nation. Each marching brown formation under the swastika was a living call to the outsiders: Come along, comrade!

Hundreds of thousands of workers would have never found the path to the fatherland without the S.A. Millions of productive people, given up to hunger and unemployment by the November Germany, would have been infected with despair, would have become the messengers of communism and would have put the torch to the edifice of the fatherland – without the S.A. The S.A. pulled them off the street. Its community and comradeship gave them inner and outward support, gave their poor and empty lives content and meaning again through the struggle for a moral goal.

The brown battalions were the school of higher learning for National Socialism. In their ranks there was no, privilege of birth, class, wealth – only the man and his accomplishment in the service of the movement. Here National Socialism became living reality in deed and example, in struggle and blood; the idea of the new man of the new Germany grew out of struggle. Unshakable, holy faith – enormous



strength controlled only by itself – unconditional, readiness for action and struggle and any sacrifice – steel heard will – hardened themselves here into the sword and the spirit of the National Socialist revolution.

Through its boundless sacrifice of property and blood, through its rock loyalty and discipline, tested under the greatest burdens, the S.A. has opened the gates of government power to its supreme S.A.-leader Adolf Hitler.

Like the singer of the German revolution, who was beastly murdered by Marxist sub-humanity, Sturmführer Horst Wessel foresaw, today Hitler flags wave over all roads. The National Socialist state stands solid. Millions of political soldiers of National Socialism watch over the survival of the new state, which is their state. Any open resistance against the young Germany from whatever enemies of the state would today be a not totally unheard of, but still with 100% certainty in effect deadly form of suicide.

The state authority of National Socialism is today anchored in the German folk in such a breadth and depth that it can no longer be shaken. When Adolf Hitler stepped before the world with his demand for honor and justice for Germany and called on the German folk to affirm this step, the German folk followed this call with an enthusiasm and unanimity that is unprecedented in the world.

It would be understandable, if somebody raised the question: What you have bitterly fought for for half a generation has been achieved. You *have* the power in the state. You *have* the trust of the folk to such a degree that, among all the rulers in the world, only the chief of state of fascist Italy can proudly claim to equal. The nations *are* ready to give their ear to your call for security and equal treatment, and to permit you a short-service army with 300,000 men and the necessary, today still banned weapons of defense. Why do you still need the S.A.?

And as the responsible chief of staff of the brown army I answer: The power in the state – the consent of the folk in its entirety to the political measures of the state leadership – the with certainty expected strengthening of our in case of emergency personnel-wise and materially totally insufficiently equipped Reich army – all that has little to do



with the essence and with the tasks of the S.A. in the further course of the German revolution.

I wish to begin with the last point: with the view that the S.A. would actually be superfluous or at least dispensable, if one permitted the new Germany a minor strengthening of its miniature army. The Reich army is the instrument for national defense from the outside. The S.A. is the bearer of the will and ideas of the National Socialist revolution inside. They are hence two totally different instruments for two totally different tasks. Since they have nothing to do with each other in terms of their intended purpose, there exist no organizational connections between the Reich army and the S.A. They are naturally bound in comradeship through the common root of their being – the spirit of eternal soldierhood – and through the fact that both are power political manifestations of one and the same state.

The tasks of the S.A. lay today and in the future only and exclusively in the internal sphere. However, there must be no doubt about one thing: again and again Adolf Hitler has declared to the world that the new Germany requires long years of peace for the gigantic reconstruction work it laying before it. This conscious will for peace of Germany, however, does not let anybody harbor even a spark of hope to set hands on Germany's future. Any violation of the Reich borders will find not just the Reich army, rather the entire folk down to the last man ready for passionate and fanatical defense. And in this sense alone the fact of the S.A.'s existence makes any future internationally unlawful attack against the new Germany such a risk that any war-monger would be compelled to seriously consider whether – in light of the unconditional, down-to-the-last, determined German life will and defense will – the potential gain for the attacker can be reconciled with the amount of effort. From this standpoint one can say that the S.A. represents the guarantor of peace in Central Europe. That, however, is just a secondary manifestation – it is *not* founded in the essence of the S.A. and it is *not* its task.

9.

What has been achieved so far in Germany, the assumption of power in the state and the expulsion of the elements which as idea-bearers of



Marxism, liberalism and capitalism are responsible for the unhealthy development of the postwar years from their dominating influence on state leadership – what has been accomplished so far, I stress - is only the prerequisite, is only the springboard for the real goals of National Socialism.

In the knowledge that without Adolf Hitler's rise to power the actual National Socialist reconstruction work would have been building in airless space, the movement and as its fighting expression the S.A. have initially directed all efforts to win with the power in the state the platform for further effort and the foundation for the realization of its desires. As important as it is to build the state as such – to reorganize the economy, to again put the German peasants work on healthy foundation, to under all circumstances become master over unemployment – these are indeed pressing tasks, whose brutal reality we cannot close our eyes to and which we will in any case solve. But they are just further steps in our path. They are not the final goal. Rather in the center of our desire stands only the German man and the German nation.

To form the German man into the 100% National Socialist in heart and in deed and thereby to enable him to be the living bearer of the genuine experienced and practical folk community – that is our final goal.

Such a development is not completed in one day, rather it requires a years and decades lasting, endless educational work on the folk and on each individual.

The organizations of the old parties and interest groups have been smashed. It would be self-deception, however, to believe that the thinking of yesterday and earlier that had assembled itself in these parties and organizations is therefore also already eliminated. It is no longer an acute danger for the new state, but it has still not completely disappeared. And it must disappear, if National Socialism is to experience its crowning and completion not just as a power political principle, rather as a new life form. The struggle all the long years up to the stretch of the German revolution where we now find ourselves has taught us watchfulness. The S.A. recognizes on the basis of years long, often bitter enough experiences to see through all the masks of



the open and hidden enemies of the new Germany.

We do not take refuge in the belief that Marxism as a kind of thought is dead, because it no longer has assembly points. Rather we know well that not just communist elements try again and again to assemble in tiny groups, rather that even by the standardization in the uncontrolled influx into our worker umbrella organizations in addition to many hundreds of thousands of decent, honest German workers from other camps also tens of thousands of incorrigible Marxists have found the path to the swastika. The terrorist elements are numerically and intellectually totally insignificant and obtain – as soon as they have gathered somewhere in sufficient number to make it worthwhile – in concentration camps the opportunity to either think more about their fruitless dreams or to become useful members of the folk community. And the germ-carriers of Marxism that have come to us because they wanted to hid somewhere must become more convinced day by day that there is no longer any room for Marxist ideology with its class warfare ideas in the increasingly stabilized social and economic order of the new Germany. Marxism has finally ceased to be a danger for National Socialist Germany. The German folk body is already immune against it. And the S.A. in cooperation with the Political Police make sure that the still remaining spores of poison are either isolated or absorbed.

We are also aware that the reaction still lives. Often the concepts reaction and monarchy are viewed as the same, although in origin they have nothing to do with each other. But when the reaction writes the word “monarchy” on its shield, it does not do it a service! If the German folk again wanted to give itself a ruler, it would probably rather do it against the reaction. Furthermore, I believe: the German Kaiser crown lies on the battlefield. Whether the German folk is willing to fight for it there, I dare to doubt. So I consider the monarchist reaction for totally insignificant.

Reaction is much more an intellectual bearing, which desperately grasps yesterday and before, when its bearers had something to say and to decide, and who now try to preserve their intellectual property – if one wants to call it that – under totally changed circumstances and again give it validity. Governments, too, can be reactionary, which rule with old methods against the more developed folk community.



Unfortunately, following of the National Socialist revolution such reactionary circles have grabbed onto our coattails, have standardized or even pinned on the swastika, while they staunchly assure that they have always been national. We have not made national, rather a National Socialist, revolution, whereby we place special weight on the word "socialist". Where these circles have meanwhile learned to add socialism to their national thought and practically engage it in, they may continue to march with us. But where they think that for their sake we would make the slightest deviations from our consequent socialist desire, they error greatly. Reaction and revolution are mortal enemies. They are no bridges between them, because one excludes the other.

With an incomprehensible mildness, the new regiment in Germany since the rise to power has not ruthlessly cleared out the bearers and lackeys of the old and still older system. Yet today sit in official positions people who have not felt even a trace of the spirit of the National Socialist revolution. We do not hold it against them that they have a viewpoint that has been overtaken by developments, although we do not consider it fortunate that one has integrated instead of purged them. But we will certainly and pitilessly break their neck, if they dare to practice this reactionary viewpoint.

Since the forces of the reaction cannot openly assert themselves amidst the mighty process of the National Socialist revolution without being crushed, they struggle – indeed disguised as National Socialists! – in secret and hence so treacherously. Only with utmost caution do they go to work in their effort to turn back the wheel of the revolution. "Peace and order" is their battle cry. And in this they come together will all strata and camps of materialists.

For reactionaries and materialists, given their intellectual bearing, the concept of revolution *must* be torture, just like in the reserve we get sick when we just think about them. Because they lack the courage and indeed the strength for open struggle from their own turf, they try to inject the poison of their kind of thinking drop by drop into the gears of the development of the nation out of the spirit of National Socialism. The doses of poison by the drop are individually totally harmless. But if one allows the poison of the reaction and the material-



ists to take effect unhindered, then the great danger arises that the spirit of our struggle is falsified by these mortal enemies of the revolution.

The S.A. stands as an unshakable bulwark against reaction and materialism – for in it is embodied everything that constitutes the concept of the revolution.

The fighter in the brownshirt from the first day on has marched on the path of the revolution. And he will not deviate an inch from this path until the final goal of our new desire is achieved: the National Socialist man in the National Socialist state!

Then that is what it comes down to. And that is where the great, perhaps the greatest task for the brown soldiers of the National Socialist revolution sets in: to be teacher, educator, example for National Socialist, indeed for German, thought and life!

It is not the insincere affirmation of the new state that National Socialism demands from us, rather the inner experience of its fundamental ideas, the complete spiritual transformation, the familiarization with its noble world of ideas. I already said: both poles, around which the new world-view revolves, are the overcoming of selfishness through the common good and the realization of the genuine folk community. Nobody can become and be a National Socialist who has not recognized and experienced this ultimate essence of the National Socialism and practiced it with his own hands.

Egoism, selfishness, is one of the more primitive emotions in man. Within the bounds of the necessary, of the demands for self-preservation, it is morally justified. Beyond those bounds it evolves into greed or envy. Out of envy Cain slew Abel. Envy and greed, which saw the development of prewar German industry with narrow eyes, agitated the nations against each other into the world war and made twelve million people die. This burden of selfishness, that has been handed down unchanged from mankind's childhood to our time, must be pulled with the root from the heart; the capitalized "I" must be overcome in favor of the "you" and "all of us", if mankind, if first Germany, is supposed to live.



And the trench between class hatred and the superstition of the solidarity of the international proletariat on the one side and the caste spirit and class prejudice, the arrogance of birth, wealth and education on the other side, must be fenced off and filled in with the great, holy, common desire for the folk community in the spirit of National Socialism.

It will seem difficult to many to tear down the barriers that have been erected between folk comrades of the same blood by materialistic hatred and snippy arrogance. And here the S.A. man wants to be an example, helper and teacher. In the past years of struggle the S.A. has been able during the struggle's strict process of selection to integrate not only externally, rather also intellectually and spiritually, the new comrades who came to it from the most diverse ideological camps. Through this it proved its very special appropriateness for the education and intellectual formation of German man. And this education, which was its force and strength in the years of the struggle, will be its main task in the years of German reconstruction before us.

All that is still lacking among the many new people in order to become fully worthy, living members of the genuine German folk community – in the brown battalions it has long been self-evident reality. National Socialism would have never struck roots in the heart of the German worker and peasant, if they had not seen in the sacrifice and selflessness of the struggle and in the comradeship of the brown army, sworn together in life and death, the embodiment of what constitutes the core of the National Socialist program, the living community of Germans who do not differentiate between poor and rich, high and low, and who know no privilege of name, class, birth or property.

One and not the least important means for this educational work was the simple brownshirt of the S.A. Not least of all we can thank the totally bloodless course of the National Socialist revolution to the fact that in the course of years the brownshirt began to flood the streets. For the brownshirt made everybody who thought differently all too aware that any resistance to a development that took place with the pitilessness and force of an act of nature was pointless. That no hand was raised after National Socialism's rise to power - that no soldier of the armed forces or policeman had to be used for the protection of the old or the assertion of the new regiment, rather that Adolf Hitler could



simply replace the abdicating forces with the forces of the National Socialist revolution, which had been trained in years of discipline and self-control for order and had become ripe for the assumption of responsibility -, is singularly and solely the work of the S.A. Without barricades, without the uprising of the inferior, without bloodshed the National Socialist rise took place. There is no revolution in world history that was carried out with less use of force than the German rise under the swastika.

Not for one day did the world doubt who was the legitimate executive power in Germany, when Adolf Hitler took the reins of government. Not for one day did the possibility of negotiations cease for foreign powers, not for one day did the course of public life in Germany. Adolf Hitler has given the world an example of how revolutions that are irreversible take place.

## 10.

The National Socialist revolution in Germany is the breakthrough of a new world-view. The racial cause of its central problem, the folk community, proves that the new German idealistic nationalism has no lust for conquest, rather turns its energies inward. For any gain of non-German subjects would mean a natural weakening of the German folk core and hence be no political gain/

The S.A. is the fighting bearer of the will of this revolution. Its brown-shirt was in the years of struggle a garment of struggle, honor and death. After the victory it became the symbol of National Socialism belonging, it became the German ethnic costume and will remain it.

The order and discipline of the S.A. was initially a necessity for the cohesion of the originally only loosely bound revolutionary forces; later it became a means for education and simultaneously the uniform of the folk community, which cannot exist without the voluntary subordination of the individual under the whole. Today it is an expression of the new German life style, which will spread from the S.A. onto the entire German life.

The S.A. – that is the National Socialist revolution!